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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the socio-cultural problems affecting new immigrants. The first part presents a person-centered ecological theoretical framework with two points of departure: the individual in his/her biological cognitive and socio-cultural sphere, and the person's communicative behavior. The data is drawn largely from a 1967-1979 project in the United States, Australia, Canada, and Sweden. Parts 2 and 3 focus on information derived from answers to the questions: Do you feel at home in the country you live in at present? and What do you need in order to feel at home in this country? Part 2 deals with the socio-cultural situation of the new minorities and part 3 discusses language and culture as a source of confidence and security. Among conclusions were that host countries should help adults and children keep and develop their mother tongues and that cultural identity and mainstream integration should be fostered by educating both migrants and host peoples in ways that promote mutual understanding. All children should be taught a functional view of language and culture. A pluralistic approach based on the various needs of minority children is needed to solve educational problems. Finally, the critical use of principles of human linguistics, together with those of humanistic sociology, will provide a useful frame for future research. (CG)

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LANGUAGE - INTEGRATION - IDENTITY
SOCIO-CULTURAL PROBLEMS OF NEW MINORITIES

Els OKSAAR

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1. Introduction

As a prologue to the pragmatic problems discussed in my paper, I should like to quote the following statement of a Swedish politician:

"International cooperation in the field of economic growth has to too great an extent been a question of getting people to the machines and not the reverse. The result has been, which we all know very well, that millions of people living and working in other countries than their country of origin live in conditions which we frankly would not describe as human"(1).

This assertion not only indicates that migration creates a varicty of problems for everyone involved. It also forces one to raise questions that might be inconvenient for the host countries: were the decision-makers in the countries where such problems arise duly prepared to receive guest-workers, refugees, settlers? Did they know about the facts which are the basis of living in human conditions in a foreign country? If this had been the case, statements of this kind, which reveal a great deal of an iceberg in the political ocean, would not have been needed. And finally, it also reminds us of the fact that problem solving in this field, in its short-term, middle-term as well as long-term aspects, as structured by some countries, requires more interdisciplinary longitudinal research than has been carried out up to now. This is especially needed at the micro-level in all countries involved, in order to increase our knowledge of this heterogeneous field that has to do with people "living and working in other countries than their country".

The aim of my paper is twofold. I want to introduce some facts into the discussion on the socio-cultural problems as they affect new minorities, e.g. those having migrated since the second World War on the basis of my longitudinal project in Australia, USA, Canada and Sweden(2). I also want to present some concepts and models on the meta-level of discussion which enable us to differentiate between the theoretical questions of the study. The presentation consists of four parts.

- In the first part I shall explain the theoretical frame, put forward my data base and give a few preliminaries of the study.
- In the second part the focus is on the socio-cultural situation of the new minorities.
- In the third part we discuss language and culture as a source of confidence and security.
- In the fourth part we find an outlook and recommendation - for problem solving.

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2. Theoretical Considerations

My investigation uses a person-centred ecological approach. The two central points of departure are:

1- the *individual* in its biological-cognitive (sex, age) and socio-cultural sphere;

2- his *communicative behaviour* by means of verbal and non-verbal elements as well as other semiotic signals. A model of description for this behaviour is the *communicative act* as defined by Oksaar (1975). It accounts for verbal units, para-linguistic and kinesic factors such as intonation and gestures as well as situation elements such as partner, subject.

The need for a person-centred micro-level approach is obvious when we start from the basic fact that it is the single individual that is migrating, interacting in the foreign country with the individuals of the majority group, experiencing language and cultural barriers, which may lead to conflicts; experiencing social dislocation and identity change, etc.

If politicians speaking and planning in terms like 'immigrant labour force' or 'migration streams' had used a more concrete language, preferably from the sphere of human ecology instead of economics, there would not have been surprises, expressed by such sentences as "we wanted manpower, there came human beings". Also, the situation as pictured in my prologue would perhaps not have been so serious, as decision-makers might have taken more notice of the individual with his needs or socio-cultural, economic and political security and personal well-being, facts that cannot be taken into account by the abstractions used. They are, however, the background, hidden behind the abstractions.

A more person-centred approach would also have revealed that factory and work alone are not enough for migrants and that above all a *home* as a basis for existence and security against the shock of alienation is needed, with all its denotative and connotative meanings: the ideals of the nest, the established channels of existence, roots to hold up. The present study elaborates a *feeling-at-home* model and will in parts 2 and 3, among other things, focus on matters that can be extracted from answers to the questions we asked our informants:

1) Do you feel at home in the country you live at present?

2) What do you need in order to feel at home in this country?

Participating observations and conversations with hundreds of migrants from various nationalities in the course of the last twenty-five years, complete the data referred to in 2.1.

2.1 Data

The empirical data in this paper are for the most part drawn from the above mentioned longitudinal (1967 - 1979) socio-psycho-linguistic research project. The main purpose of this project is to establish and to analyse general principles that influence the variable communicative competence and the cultural, especially linguistic norms of Estonians in Australia, USA, Canada and Sweden, and Germans in

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Sweden. It focusses on the special relations that exist between a person's languages on the one hand and between the languages and his socio-cultural environment on the other, comprising also language loyalty, language maintenance and language shift problems. The informants are twenty families in each country from three social groups: academics, white collar workers (non-academics), and blue collar workers, with at least one child starting school in 1967, when the project started. I will not go into details concerning the project (described in Oksaar 1976, 1977, 1979), it is, however, important to point out that data have been obtained not only through interviews, tape-recordings, tests, observations.

2.2 Which factors constitute 'Feeling at Home'?

To this kind of question, individual differences in the answers can, of course, be expected. The most common factors that constitute 'feeling-at home' in a foreign country were, for our informants, various aspects of culture such as language, social manners and activities, intra- and inter-group relations, ways of interaction, family life, confidence and security, to mention only the most important. We can differentiate between two spheres of factors: the *social sphere* and the *individual sphere*. Some of the above mentioned factors can belong to both spheres: language, family life, whereas confidence, security, self-esteem and other emotional devices belong predominantly to the individual sphere. The two spheres influence each other, in differing degrees, varying from case to case.

The factor *language* is of special importance, as von Humboldt has already noted, equating the real home with language and the loss of language with loss of home. This language, L_1, is the mother tongue; it belongs to the individual sphere. For a migrant, however, one language is not enough. In order not to be isolated from the host society, he needs social contacts - communication - with members of the majority group. Some form of contact always takes place in the working situation or at school. An important key to these contacts is the language of the host country, L_2. A person, however, never communicates by means of language alone. He or she unavoidably communicates by his or her manners and behaviour too, which are manifested in other channels of his or her cultural system.

The ideal situation thus would be that of being able to operate in two languages, L_1 and L_2, and two cultures, C_1 and C_2. For all migrants in a foreign milieu, many problems can be solved easier by becoming *bilingual* and *bicultural*. What does bilingual mean? The term *bilingualism* has not been used uniformly. It can mean any degree of linguistic ability from an equally good command of both languages - which is very difficult to assess empirically - to lesser abilities, active or passive, in one of the languages (Oksaar, 1972). The difficulties of giving a satisfactory definition are obvious, because of the fact that command of languages is connected with many non-linguistic factors that can also influence people's attitude both towards the languages themselves and their ability to use them. If I define bilingualism as the ability to use here and now two languages as a means of communication in most situations, and to switch from one to the other if that is needed, this fairly broad functional definition must also, of necessity, be specified, according to the language and the situation. Reality does not demand of a bilingual that his two languages must be used in all

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kinds of situations. Oksaar (1963, 1966) has directed attention to the emotional and socializing role of the mother tongue and the working tool function of the host country language. Generally speaking, there is a 'distribution of work' between them, and a number of social and psychological facts play an important role as a source of this distribution.

The mother tongue thus usually belongs to the individual sphere, the host country language to the social. These relations, however, may change. To which sphere L_1 and L_2 belong can be an important criterion to differentiate between two processes: *integration* and *assimilation*, concerning migrants.

2.3 Isolation, integration, assimilation and dissimilation

Taking as a starting point that migrants have a different ethnic and cultural background from the native population and a different language, one can distinguish between four different domains of behaviour concerning the relations between migrants and the native population.

Isolation means that migrants are without or with little interactive contacts with the native population. That is a situation usual for old migrants, it can also apply to women working at home and small children. It affects the personal stability, especially when other members of the family are integrated into new surroundings.

Integration means that migrants maintain parts of the culture of their origin, usually the individual sphere with language, religion; in other sectors, above all the economic, they are absorbed by the native system. There is, however, no imbalance between these spheres. There is a relation, which I call *cultural congruence*, the less changed, stable core being the individual sphere. Here also new sub-cultures may arise, influenced or not by C_2.

Assimilation means according to our differentiations to be absorbed by the native system in both spheres, individual and social. To a certain degree, this process can be compared with the assimilation of sounds in phonetics: in that a sound will be changed through a preceding or following sound, giving up its characteristic features. As to migrants, total assimilation during a generation is only theoretically possible, because there will always be linguistic or other cultural features, which are not given up and which separate groups and individuals.

Dissimilation means the contrary of assimilation. It is an influence from the surroundings that leads away from it. For instance in languages: Latin *turtur*, English *turtle*. In my project I found not a few cases which could be described by this term. Dissimilation followed certain stages of assimilation: those who denied the use of L_1 and from the very beginning tried to speak L_2 at home, changed their behaviour for a number of reasons, e.g. rising higher in society, having a stable economy, they rediscovered their ethnicity, especially L_1, their mother tongue.

It is necessary to stress the dynamics of the reality behind these categories and the fact that there are many overlappings and sub-categories such as the involvement and participation in activities of C_1 and C_2. A central question is, however, "why is language so important - like a home?"

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We know that as a basic medium of communication, language is involved in almost every act of social behaviour. Because of this position, it is the most important factor of social control and social influence. It must be kept in mind, however, that languages act not only as a means of intra- and inter-group communication, but also as factors for the establishing of groups and as a means of group identification. Every word we speak is a shibboleth. We are stereotyped by our listeners according to the impression they get from our verbal habits; in a face-to-face interaction also from non-verbal ones. An interesting point for us is the unifying effect that this has on a group.

The intensive spatial movements of people - several million people all over the world are either migrants or refugees - have shown that language is a highly effective instrument of integration and assimilation.

The language of the majority population, say Swedish, is a factor of integration and assimilation of migrants into the Swedish society. The language of the minority group, say Estonian, is a factor of group unity, affinity and solidarity of Estonians, and thus a factor of integration and assimilation into the Estonian society. Integration of members of the majority population into it through marriage - both men and women - has occurred in all the countries of our project. Assimilation has happened, within my knowledge, only with members of other minorities and women with Estonian husbands.

Needless to say, however, the fact that the knowledge of the language of the native population is of existential importance to most members of all minority groups.

Before discussing our two main themes in parts 2 and 3, it is necessary to clarify a few more concepts.

2.4 Terminological fallacies

The best theoretical approach may fail when the concepts are not clearly defined or when the terminology suggests 'facts' which have no reality behind them.

We are speaking of the 'receiving society', 'host country', 'minority' or 'majority groups', 'the native population', 'immigrant society', 'host society' and these as well as other similar concepts have been used in a sense, as if we were dealing with static, stable and constant systems or structures. On the contrary, we do not find homogeneous groups, neither in the case of migrants nor in the case of the native population. Social and cultural variability make of them very complex heterogeneous groups. There is no social theory which would cover and explain the behaviour of all group members. We need much more systematic research on the micro-level.

3. The Socio-cultural Situation of New Minorities

In this part we shall focus on the connection between language, culture and identity, the main factors which, make up the socio-cultural situation of new minorities.

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3.1 Between the cultures

For quite a long, time the average migrant is in a situation in which he (or she) is more or less socially homeless. He has left his home country not only geographically but also socially, politically, culturally, including language. The only compensation he has received during this period is probably geographic and economic. If he is accompanied by his family, or has possibilities to use his native language in communication with friends and acquaintances, at least no linguistic homelessness is experienced at the beginning.

There is, however, a fundamental socio-cultural change of perspective from the very beginning and this may have consequences for the migrant's well-being and attitudes towards the old and the new environment. It starts with the feeling of helplessness when not able to speak or understand the language of the surroundings and to behave adequately in various social situations as one was accustomed to (cf. 'shock of alienation', 'culture shock'). The majority of our informants could not use their mother tongue in the same social situation as in their home country, e.g. at work, in churches, in schools, hospitals, when applying to a doctor or authorities. In a relatively short time (0.5 - 1.5 years) they were able to use English in these situations in Australia, USA and Canada (60% had learnt some English at secondary school) and Swedish in Sweden (none of our informants knew Swedish on their arrival). In the first 2 - 5 years - time correlated positively with the age of the informant - more than 75% of them had a strong feeling of 'uncertainly' and of being 'strangers'.

What does this mean? Can concepts of 'uncertainty' and 'stranger' in this situation be operationalised? Evidence from our questionnaires and intensive interviews indicates the following.

3.1.1 *Uncertainty.*

The common source of uncertainty is not being able to communicate and to act in a customary way. In their home countries, the migrants knew how to behave in certain situations, what was correct, accepted. In the new country, they felt that all this was not valid. There were common patterns, of course, but it was difficult to find out in which spheres. The first failure in interaction could discourage them for a long time; the process of trial and error was frustrating, especially when members of the native population reacted in a way which made them feel hurt. This could happen in a variety of situations, the trigger effect extending from erroneous language to deviations from the cultural norms of the native population. The following case may illustrate the barrier which in a social network of individuals and of groups is obvious. It is also obvious, as Park (1928) has already stated, that a person who has migrated lives in two cultures, and is able to view both of them critically, having in sum a broader cultural outlook than before.

Most of the informants find a balance in their socio-cultural spheres of action chiefly through two factors: an increasing knowledge of L_2 and various possibilities of using L_1.

To this complex belong also the findings that social advancements such as career, success at school or university correlate positively with the attitude towards L_1: 88% in Australia, 87% in Sweden, 79% in USA and 74% in Canada. 67% (141 out of 210) second generation Estonians in Australia, aged between 20-30 years, looked at them-

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selves as 'new Australians', but find it most natural to speak Estonian at home and with other Estonians and to participate in cultural activities of Estonians such as sports, folk dancing, etc. This shows that acculturation need not affect personal and group identity. In Sweden we notice that living and working in similar situations to Swedes, from factory to academic level, does not prevent minorities from identifying themselves as non-Swedes.

We are here concerned with a process, in which the increasing knowledge of L_2 and C_2 goes hand in hand with increasing self-confidence, when L_1 and C_1 are active too. The mother tongue, L_1, is an important base for their identity, if we accept Erikson's (1965) view that the sense of identity "provides the ability to experience one's self as something that has continuity and sameness and to act accordingly". L_1 and C_1 belong to a migrant's individual sphere - we may speak of his personal identity; in his social sphere he has his role-governed social identity. A minority group is bound together through ethnic and cultural identity. There are thus different ways of viewing the problem of identity, according to various criteria. It must be kept in mind, however, that these various identities concern one and the same individual. They are not separated radically and are all presnt when the individual tries to answer the question: who am I?

The language preference-models showed interesting differences between the generations. For adults it was self-evident to speak L_1, Estonian, with other Estonians and L_2 with members of the native population and with migrants from different ethnic backgrounds. The choice of language was partner-oriented. For the second generation, e.g. children between 6-10 and 11-18 years old, the preference was more topic than partner-oriented (88%). Within the family, children who did not attend Estonian schools preferred L_2 for all topics concerning school and leisure time activities in the cultural system of the host country. They spoke L_1 with their parents, other Estonians and often also among themselves, when the topic concerned the cultural life of Estonians, e.g. theatre, folk dancing and sport. There are other models of family interaction, such as trans-lingual ones; I have discussed them in Oksaar (1979).

Among other factors, ethnic self-consciousness was contributing to the balance. Ethnic identity, generally acquired by birth, was felt stronger than social-class arises through misunderstandings.

An Estonian refugee, only four weeks in Sweden, wanted to sell his wife's fox to a furrier. He started by saying! *"Jag är en silver räv"* (I am a silver fox) and was interrupted by laughter of the saleswomen. He had mixed up the verbs *to be* and *to have*, as some forms of being and having are identical in Estonian. He felt offended by the laughter and had psychological barriers in interacting with unknown Swedes also when he had a better command of the language. The laughter may have been spontaneous, directed at the situation, not the person. It was, however, interpreted as a personal offence.

3.1.2 *Being a stranger.*

The main source that creates this feeling, and frustration, is the negative attitude expressed by members of the native population through various verbal and non-verbal means, giving the migrants the feeling of being 'strangers' and 'not wanted'. For Estonians this feeling was strongest in Sweden (67.5%) and weakest in the USA (27.5%). The following cases illustrate this aspect.

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A sentence from work-mates like "you have to speak Swedish in Sweden" when conversing with Estonian fellow-workers during a break or "you have been here such a long time and still have an accent" is for them a token of discrimination, even after twenty years in the country.

This may lead to miscommunication also in the case of neutral questions such as "which country do you come from?" asked after having heard the migrant speaking. He interprets this kind of questions as criticism of his accent and language, and is not aware of the fact that there are other semiotic features that may indicate that he is a foreigner. There are usually periods of hyper-sensitivity, in which everything is taken more personally than if similar situations had happened in the home country. They characteristically occur in the first years in a foreign country, in a positive as well as in a negative form. Such instances reveal psychological, emotional problems, their basis being essentially socio-linguistic and cultural.

It must be kept in mind, however, that the socio-cultural problems of minorities cannot be separated from those of the native population that also encounters communication difficulties. The members of the receiving societies will not have the same cultural and social climate as before in countries where there is a great number of migrants. The history of the USA illustrates some special aspects of this situation.

3.2 Towards a balance

"When a group is in the process of cultural contact, the functions formerly served by one language sometimes come to be divided between two or more" (Barker, 1947). The present situation in every country with migrants can be characterised by extending this statement to culturemes also. That there is a variety of functional and situational specialisations as to the linguistic and other cultural behaviour identification. This was due mainly to three factors: common language, culture and history. A connecting tie, however, was also the shared minority status in which the knowledge of the mother tongue alone was no longer sufficient for contacts in society.

In our approach, we therefore also looked at the bilingualism of the minorities. Methodologically it is necessary to focus on it in the frame of bi-culturalism, and thus also in the frame of other semiotic means of expression than the verbal ones. There are non-verbal, kinesic means of communication and para-linguistic ones such as intonation and emphasis, which together with the verbal means are basic components of the individual's *interactional competence*. They form patterns of their own, characterising groups and peoples. These may contribute to stereotyping. It is a well-known fact in social psychology that prejudice and stereotyping do not disappear when people communicate. On the contrary, the different uses of conventional ways of speaking may often lead to, as Gumperz (1979) puts it, "intensification of prejudice as a result of contact". Languages, L_1 and L_2, thus are not enough. It is the interactional competence in two cultures that is at the basis of disturbance-free communication in a foreign country. There are, however, other aspects, especially socio-psychological ones, which are important too. From this point of view we shall focus on our next complex, which, among other things, tries to make clear why bilingualism, with a strong command of the mother tongue, together with bi-culturalism is important for migrants.

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4. Language and Culture as a Source of Confidence and Security

4.1 Cultural dynamics

In most countries one has, at least theoretically, disposed of the so-called conformity ideology, which strives for a homogeneous population whereby the minorities socially and culturally adapt to the majority's pattern. It has been realized that in ethnically plural societies the pluralistic pattern is more in accordance with human rights. The pluralistic ideology does not deny the cultural and social solidarity that minorities practise and it looks on it as an enriching entity for the whole community. We have emphasized that minorities should speak the language of the country, which is, in short, necessary for the cooperation between the majority and the minorities and also between the different ethnic groups in the country. But that need not happen at the expense of the minorities' mother tongues. There is no doubt that the individual gets a certain feeling of security and self-confidence by belonging to a group and that this feeling is very important for his psychic health. Members of majority groups, decision-makers and politicians, may never realize that the mother tongue is one of the most important sources of this feeling of security for a migrant in new linguistic and cultural surroundings. This fact has to be operationalized in a way that includes all generations of a minority group. The adults have their emotional roots through and in the mother tongue, the children acquire them through their parents.

For adult immigrants, a state of *linguistic homelessness* can be the result when this source of confidence and security does not function. I am using a term which was current debate on bi-lingualism long before *semi-lingualism* was introduced, which seems to me to be too static and too absolute a term. (3). To be homeless in a language means that an individual may become linguistically very insecure in an alien surrounding, alien for his language. Of course, one begins to learn the new language, but not at once to a desirable degree. It is a well-known fact that sometimes people experience a state in which they cannot express themselves correctly in either language, since the command of the mother tongue can give way, too, on account of the lack of stimulus. Additional effects are brought about by the individual's own attitudes - positive or negative - towards both languages. But the following is important: the term expresses that the circumstances are dynamic and of a passing nature. The feeling of not being at home in any language usually does not occur in all situations.

Activation of mother tongue, L_1, abilities and teaching the majority's language, L_2, are meant to prevent such situations. Bi-lingualism and bi-culturalism stand as the ideal aim. Still the problem cannot be solved by using educational and linguistic means alone, as my experience shows. We need a language policy, which is first of all based on psychological considerations. I have pointed out in Oksaar (1966, 1971) that it is necessary for the majority of policy-makers to try to create and spread a mentality that respects the language of other people, that does not force migrants to give up their language and forbid their children to use their mother tongue for reasons of prestige or pressure from members of the majority population. The danger of the migrants' language being stigmatized exists and has vital consequences: they may be convinced that they were deserving the stigma (Farb, 1976, p. 186).

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4.2 Security of the family

In spite of a few measures taken in various countries, these insights about the importance of the whole human environment for the adult's mental health or for the child's development should be more intensely discussed than in the past. Feelings of perplexity towards new social situations and majority group members may affect the family situation; security in their own group - here family - again will be established through L_1 and C_1. The primary socialization that gives the child the first impressions about reality takes place in the family; when different generations cannot speak together in the language of their fore-fathers, when the social identification that the child normally has through language cannot be established in the child's own group, the family, then there is no doubt that it can inhibit the child's harmonious development, there exists, in addition to the problem of generation gaps in adolescence, thus also the *socio-cultural ethnic gap*.

The primary responsibility for the socialization normally rests with the mother. A minority inside the minority group, which psycho- and research has hardly been interested in, is the woman/mother in migrant families. She is hardly ever talked about although she is the central support in the management of a family, with an important linguistic and educational role. Also her problems - either when working at home or for the first time in her life outside the family and home - must be taken into consideration.

4.3 Communication

Let us now concentrate on human relations, focusing on communication. To give some data from our project: in all four countries, more than 80% of the informants in the age group of 40-80 have 'close personal friends' or other 'good friends' outside their families with the same minority background. In their communicative networks they find special satisfaction in the fact that they can use their mother tongue. It is important, however, to stress that they develop a special code, L_x, in these social relations.

As has been shown in Oksaar (1969, 1972, and 1974), members of a bilingual minority group do not have just two sets of rule complexes from L_1 and L_2, regulating their communicative performance, but rather at least three, the third complex arising from L_x. L_x with its variants is constituted to a large degree of items of L_1 and L_2 from all strata of language. However, it has its own norms of usage linguistically, concerning the structure of the utterance, as well as socially, concerning the partner. These norms are directly connected with the phenomenon of code switching, which for me is the alternating use of two languages without any interference, that is, deviations from the norms of one language through the influence of another, as well as their alternation with several types of interference. There is situational (external) and contextual (internal) switching, due to constitutents and conditions of discourse (Oksaar, 1974). L_x must not be mixed up with 'learners pidgin', because it develops through the knowledge of two languages and is a code through which the social relations between the speaker and the hearer can be revealed.

Two models - *the rational model* and *the normative model* - are characteristic of bilingual minorities' interactional behaviour (Oksaar 1975, 1976). The former is exclusively used in interaction with good friends and close acquaintances. According

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to the rational model, the speaker is trying to maximize the exactitude of meaning and understandability, choosing the items and structures without keeping strictly to the norms of L_1, but adapting to the demands of situation, partner and topic. Characteristic of this model are code switching and integrated morpho-semantic transfers, that is, words from the majority language will be taken over and integrated into the structure of L_1 phonolgy and morphology: English *relax*, Estonian *relāksima*.

According to the normative model, the speaker is trying to follow the rules of L_1 in all situations, the role of the partner and the topic being minimal. Evidence of this behaviour rule is also given in the existence of various meta-communicative acts that justify the speaker's hesitations and pauses while thinking of an adequate expression. Characteristic of this model is the extended use of loan translations and loan creations: English *long drink*, Estonian *pikk jook;* Swedish *tonaring*, Estonian *teismeline* 'teenager'.

The rational model thus is distinguished from the normative model first of all by the type of linguistic interferences. Common to both models is that *situational interferences* occur, in addition to linguistic interferences. I define them as deviations from the pragmatic norms of the situation in which the communicative act takes place and which demand a certain kind of verbal and/or non-verbal behaviour. We can find them in connection with the culturemes of greetings, addressing a person, thinking, etc.

We can also find other important relations. There is a significant connection on the one hand between the speaker's and the hearer's social relations, and on the other the use of language within the framework of the two models described above. The rational model is used in interaction between friends and close acquaintances. Lexical interferences in the form of integrated morpho-semantic transfers (loan words) become more frequent when the persons were well acquainted with one another, and decreased when the degree of acquaintanceship lessened. They were replaced by different forms of loan translations or by un-integrated morpho-semantic transfers (foreign words).

Consequently, we can view this as a kind of loyalty to the first language; one takes in foreign elements and enriches a variant of the L_x, which here is called a variant of the Estonian language. We find these two models, with small differences, with all investigated social groups between the age of 40 and 60. Outsiders can misunderstand the function of L_x, and interpret the 'mixing' as a stage of giving up the mother tongue. This puristic view is not in accordance with reality.

By what criteria are such formations and use of variants influenced?

In the first place, the speaker is convinced that the hearer understands what is being said, among other things because of shared background knowledge of the topic and the speaker's will to give information as exactly as possible. 71% of the informants of a sample of 40 in Sweden, 72% (of 42) in Australia, 67% (of 45) in the USA and 75% (of 50) in Canada were of the opinion that deviations from Estonian norms depend on these factors. Other predominant reasons are:

- Group dynamics and psychological factors. 90% of the informants in Sweden, 81% in Australia, 79% in the USA and 84% in Canada felt that the variants with integrated morpho-semantic transfer - of the type *relāxima*, from the infinitive *relax* -

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were so usual that they would be looked upon as affected if they followed other patterns among the friend-group. The results concerning language use in contacts with less well-known or unknown Estonians were in opposition to these: 72% in Sweden, 76% in Australia, 62% in the USA and 69% in Canada tried to speak as pure ('unmixed') Estonian as possible, also with those whom they knew that they had the same bilingual background. Here we have a complex system of prestige and loyalty factors that influence the choice of linguistic variants.

- Also intra-linguistic factors can be important: within the lexical system, emotional values and connotations of Swedish or English words play an important role.

Here I shall not go into any details concerning factors like:

- sex: women use the normative model 15% more often than men;
- children as partners: use of the normative model increased;
- subject matter of interaction;
- listeners' (audience's) influence;

They are analysed in Oksaar, 1979.

Very interesting is the high correlation between interaction in the family in accordance with the normative model and the number of children living at home. The normative model had a tendency to converge with the rational model, when children no longer lived at home, in our data an average of 69% of the time.

In our four countries, the first generation born in the country has shown a tendency to use a new model that I should like to call the model of *convergence*. It connects the normative with the rational model in a way that tended to neglect the social relations. The second generation born in the country tends to use the normative model in most situations, if they speak L_1 at all.

This kind of investigation, new in socio-linguistics, tries to identify the social weight and relations that code switching and interference carry. It shows in which way language can function as a marker of social relations in the interactions of minorities and how socio- and psycho-linguistic motives determine the choice and creation of linguistic items prior to structural, internal reasons. Various types of interference function as social markers of discourse: loan translations may serve as features of social distance, integrated morpho-semantic transfers of those of social proximity.

More than 90% of the informants in every country found a special kind of satisfaction and security also in having possibilities to communicate in L_2 with the native population at work and in other situations. Expressed in the terms of balance theories, the possibility of using both languages contributes to the balance between the person's behaviour, attitudes, values and his surroundings.

4.4 Cross-cultural misunderstandings

Language, however, can also contribute to conflicts of various kinds. One of them is discrimination due to some deviant uses of L_2. How often is command of a language judged according to an external indicator: pronunciation? How often does one neglect the observation that he who speaks with an accent may have a richer vocabulary and is perhaps able to use the language as a much more effective means of com-

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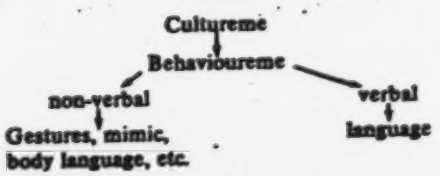
munication than many native speakers? Usually, and this has also be confirmed in our project, utterances like "he has got an accent" or "one can hear that he isn't Swedish (Australian, Canadian)" often carry the connotative meaning "he is not one of us, he is not OK". On the other hand, there are prestige accents in every country, often leading to discrimination of language groups within a language area, for example when a person's pronunciation or vocabulary indicates that he comes from some dialectal group. He may be told that he cannot even speak his mother tongue properly. Interesting enough, in the mirror of migrant and minority research, affective tendencies and attitudes in the majority groups appear clearer than before. Concerning Sweden, a topical question has been the inability of the Swedes to communicate with their migrants (Schwarz). However, they have no special ability to communicate with each other either, if we look at communication for example through the eyes of a Southern European! This is not the right way. Every nation has its own communicative rules which have to be looked at through their own eyes, e.g. their socio-cultural conditions.

We have also asked native people in random sample interviews about their experiences in communicating with migrants. In all four countries one of the chief sources of irritation is misunderstandings and the deviant realization of culturemes. Migrants follow different rules and often have non-verbal signals that are different from the native population.

I shall not dwell upon misunderstandings that occur through linguistic interferences, although they can have vital consequences, especially prosodic elements and a deviant choice of words, because they influence not only understandability, but also the personal impression the listener gets of the speaker, classifying him as polite or impolite, modest or pushy, etc. The tone of voice may signal assumptions and attitudes in a way which does not coincide with conventional ways of interaction in the majority group.

Instead, I would like to focus on *cultural* and *situational* interferences. *Cultural interferences* arise from the deviations from the norms of one cultural system through the influence of another. They are connected with micro-cultural units which I call *culturemes:* verbally and non-verbally realized units of behaviour, which may have a communicative function: to greet or not, to thank or not, to wear a certain type of clothing, etc., all according to certain situations (cf. Table 1).

Table 1



The mere fact that people greet each other is a cultureme, how they express it is a behaviioureme. A behaviioureme is a realization of a cultureme. It can be non-verbal, verbal or both simultaneously. Thus greeting in German culture: nodding the head only, or saying "guten Tag", literally "good day" or doing both and shaking hands - all depending on the relation to the partner and circumstances.

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Here situational interferences may come up. There is, then, a model of $Culture_1$, $Culture_2$ and $Culture_x$, the latter having elements of both. They may arise in German-English and Estonian-English cultural contact, in case of the obligatory cultureme 'thanking', when a German and an Estonian both use "please" instead of "here you are" and silence. Comparisons between three models are presented below:

The English model:	A	(gives B a book)	: Here you are
	B	(takes the book)	: Thanks!
	A	(is silent)	
The German and Estonian model:	A	(gives B a book)	: Bitte! Est. Palun!
	B	(takes the book)	: Danke! Est. Tänan!
	A	Bitte! Est. Palun!	
The interference model	A	(gives B a book)	: Please!
	B	(takes the book)	: Thanks!
	A	Please!	

This kind of situational interference hardly results in severe miscommunication. On the other hand, when B, coming from a totally different culture, would not thank at all in this situation, A could interpret his verbal and/or non-verbal behaviour as impoliteness, nonchalance or insensitivity, being ignorant of B's cultural system. This is an experience that may influence the further contacts between people.

Interestingly enough, deviations from L_2 are more easily overlooked by native speakers than deviations from C_2, when they communicate with foreigners. The effect of a wrong form will often be eliminated by the linguistic context and the meaning of a sentence will be clear for the native speaker: "He go railway-station". The effect of wrong behaviouremе, however, cannot be eliminated by the context of situation: when A addresses B by his Christian name after a brief acquaintance, when "Mr. Miller" is expected, B may dislike it and project the negative feeling on A, finding him impolite. Foreigners, on the other hand, usually do not mix L_1 and L_2, when speaking with native speakers of L_2. However, they are often not aware of mixing C_1 and C_2 or acting against the rules of C_2.

Cross-cultural misunderstandings may result in, as Argyle (1972, p. 148) notes, "that each person rejects the other as one who has failed to conform to the standards of civilized society, and looks on him as impossible to get on with". We are confronted with the difficult task to find out the culturemes and behaviouremes of the other, before juding him from one's own cultural base.

4.5 Towards an effective schooling

Having thus argued for the importance of both L_1 and L_2, and C_1 and C_2 for migrants, the question arises: what can we conclude for the schooling of children?

It would be ideal, if the child could have his first instruction in L_1, if he has not become bilingual at the pre-school age (Oksaar, 1963), because the learning process proceeds from the known to the unknown. To work with two unkown elements, i.e. a new language in which knowledge is imparted and the new knowledge, brings about

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great difficulties that obviously are reduced if there is some knowledge of the language already. When claiming this, I have pointed out that the realization of this ideal depends first of all on two factors: size of the group and the possibility to get qualified teachers. At the same time, of course, the child needs to be taught L_2 from the very beginning at school, in order not to be isolated from the society.

4.6 The necessity of bilingualism and bi-culturalism

Not bi- and multi-lingualism but mono-lingualism has become a problem in our present world (Oksaar, 1980), as the majority of the world population has command of more than one language in their everyday life. It is self-evident that starting school in a country of L_2 is much easier for a bilingual than a monolingual L_1 speaking child and therefore the way to bilingualism should be made as effective as possible.

When a child is socialized through both languages from the very beginning, he will acquire the linguistic and other behavioural patterns of both cultures without any difficulties, when the rule - one person, one language - is followed. That is, when a person A, say mother, constantly speaks one language with the child and person B, say father, another language. It is irrelevant which language A and B speak together, the main point is that they are consequent in the use of their language in communicating with the child during the first two or three years. The child will then be a balanced bilingual before entering school. We also find evidence from the effectiveness of this 'old recipe', practised by many parents throughout our century, among the results of my multilingual language acquisition project, described in *International Review of Applied Psychology*, Vol. 29, 1980.

At school, one language is usually dominant and therefore there must be the means of supporting the development of the other. I am not going to discuss the old myth about the negative influence of early bilingualism, but refer rather to discussions in Oksaar (1963, 1968, and 1979). However, I would like to stress that whenever difficulties arise concerning achievements of children growing up with more than one language, it is a serious methodical mistake to use the term 'language' as a diagnostic label, because there may always be other factors that are decisive. As we have already noticed, groups that speak different mother tongues normally have different cultural patterns. Problems may arise through conflicts between two religions, different aspects of moral, etc. But if a child growing up with two languages has problems at school, the blame is normally put on the language alone. Such assertions are not only unjustified - as if there were no similar problems concerning monolingual children - but also harmful for the groups concerned, as they may be used by educational politicians, deciding on the school system for minorities.

5. Outlook

We are now ready to draw some conclusions from the above discussions.

1. Adults and children should be given possibilities to keep and develop their proficiency in their mother tongue. In planning for minority children, the host coun-

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tries must not forget their parents, as linguistic and cultural isolation will inevitably result in emotional difficulties, and children must not be isolated from their primary group. In the USA, there are 'home start programs' for minorities (Ström, 1978), activating parents as mother tongue teachers for their children. The socio-psychological and cultural gain of these approaches are obvious.

2. Integration must not be seen as a one-way street. Cultural identity maintenance need not complicate integration into the host country; if there is a mentality that respects various cultures and various languages, and if the minorities are bilingual and bi-cultural. In addition, economic and social integration in the host country is possible without giving up the original cultural identity.

What seems necessary in European countries is to spread extensive information about migrants in the media and at school, especially about various cultural differences and the difficulties arising from them in order to make mutual understanding easier and prevent negative attitudes about foreigners from arising. On the other hand, migrants have to be informed more thoroughly about the host countries, especially their cultures, than has been the case; courses in languages are not enough, they have to learn to understand differences in attitudes and behaviour. Earlier arrived fellow countrymen could also be activated to inform about the host countries. There are mutual expectations which have to be communicated.

My opinion is that it is important to teach all children - native and migrant ones - a functional view of language and culture, beginning at elementary school. They have to be aware that there are no good or bad languages, no good or bad accents: they are only different. Children have to learn to understand various socio-cultural situations and to respect individuality, diversity and differences in culture.

A new subject should be introduced at school, which focuses on the relation between the *individual - language* and *culture* - and the *society*, covering also comparative aspects, including the dialects in the native country. As Hall (1959, p. 30) puts it: "Culture hides much more than it reveals, and strangely enough what it hides, it hides most effectively from its own participants... the real job is not to understand foreign culture but to understand our own." He stresses the principle of contrast, making clear that the ultimate reason for studying foreign culture "is to learn more about how one's own system works".

3. Keeping bilingualism and bi-culturalism in mind, we need a pluralistic approach to solve educational problems. We need various models for school-age children. We need more bilingual and also mono-lingual L_1 schools and kindergartens for minority children, according to their needs. What is an optimal solution for one group of migrants, e.g. Finns in Sweden, may not be appropriate for other groups, having another historical background, e.g. having no possibility of returning home for political reasons.

In regard to learning, it must be stressed that we do not yet know all factors that influence its processes. Therefore one has to be sceptical about pat pedagogical solutions. Motivation, activity and determination, however, are three central factors which favour good results.

Finally, we come back to the point from which we started, stressing the need for further research. We conclude from our project that the critical use of principles of human linguistics together with those of humanisitc sociology will provide a useful frame for further minority studies.

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NOTES

1. A.-G. Leijon, Opening Address, Proceedings of the Nordic Seminar on Long-term Effects of Migration, edited by J. Widgren, Stockholm, 1976, 5.
2. Supported by grants from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.
3. For a discussion and references see Oksaar, 1979.

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